NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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ISN'T THAT YOU-KNOW-WHO ON THE STEPS OF ST. BASIL?
That's right, Tanya, it's Cary Grant, and it's not a movie—it's right in Moscow and he's shaking hands with a real live Russian. Now if the Bolshoi Ballet's Ulanova turns up in Times Square one day soon and her picture is taken shaking hands with a New York taxi driver, we'd say that the peace of the world was in the bag.

RCA AT TOP OF THE HEAP

FCC man is dumped to smother scandal of TV monopolists

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS Commissioner Richard A. Mack was protesting his innocence over the telephone last week when Presidential Asst. Sherman Adams reportedly hung up on him. His resignation had already been insistently demanded by all his former friends and "connections." To many Mack seemed a sacrifice tossed to the reforming wolves to keep them away from juicier scandals. When he resigned on March 3, he looked like "Mack the knifed."

Mack had admitted accepting "loans" from a lawyer whose client he had favored in an FCC decision. He had repaid most of them, he said, but confessed that the money came from holdings in companies given to him by this same generous lawyer.

Lawyers who have no companies to give away have complained that FCC rulings customarily are not debated but arranged. FCC examiners conduct lengthy hearings, amass mountains of documentation, arrive at recommendations generally hailed as fair. But commissioners rarely read the voluminous record. Even honest ones would scarcely have the time.

THE LOBBYISTS: Brief digests are prepared for the commissioners, who render a verdict frequently after a number of years and often completely counter to the examiner's findings. That was the way it went in the case that tripped up Richard Mack. Miami's TV Channel 10 was awarded to an applicant—a subsidiary of Natl. Airlines—which the examiner had found by far the least qual-

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JERRY W. CARTER
Cheap but frank

'THIS IS MY LAST NIGHT IN ALCATRAZ . . . DO YOU HEAR ME?'

Morton Sobell wins removal to Atlanta

AT THREE O'CLOCK Monday morning, Feb. 24, Morton Sobell, handcuffed and feet shackled, was led from his cell in Alcatraz island prison in San Francisco Bay and placed on the ferry to the mainland. He was well clothed against the driving rain except that he wore cloth slippers. It was a choppy trip to the shore, where he was placed on a train, closely guarded, to begin a journey that would take three days and two more nights, via Los Angeles, to Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas. His ultimate destination: Atlanta, Ga., Penitentiary, where he was first imprisoned in 1951 to begin a 30-year sentence after his conviction with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for conspiracy to commit espionage.

Thus began a transfer for which thousands had petitioned and tens of thousands hoped and prayed for the last five years. The fight had begun on Thanksgiving Day, 1952, when Sobell was taken from West St. jail in New York. He had been brought there from Atlanta for argument of his first motions of appeal from the 30-year sentence. Then he was moved to the dread and lonely Alcatraz, built for the most hardened criminals.

A MILLION NAMES: What immediate circumstances brought about Sobell's long-sought transfer was not known, although such a development was thought to be in the wind at the time of Sobell's appeal to the Supreme Court late last year. When Sobell's motions—for a review, a new trial or acquittal—were rejected by the Court last fall, Sobell Committees throughout the nation began a campaign for 1,000,000 signatures asking Presidential intervention.

A growing number of prominent individuals in the U.S. and abroad have appealed for reconsideration of his case and at least an end to solitary confinement in the island prison 3,000 miles from his home. There he was barred from seeing his two children and could talk to his wife, Helen, once a month only through a heavy glass partition via telephone.

LETTER TO HELEN: In a letter to his wife written Sunday night Feb. 23, Sobell said that "about three or four weeks ago I had an indication that I might be leaving. But one is hesitant about accepting such signs, what with having been mistaken before."

The letter began with these words, to his "Most dearest, dearest beloved":

"Tonight I write in a bare cell, stripped of all my possessions. One doesn't have the opportunity to write a letter under these conditions very frequently.

"This is my last night in Alcatraz! Do you hear me? In the early hours of the morning I leave this lonely island, for a long journey, very long, to Atlanta, I was told . . .

"It will be a long journey and tiring, but a welcome one. Both in itself,

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U.S.S.R. ACCEPTS IKE'S CHALLENGE

Summit parley closer despite U.S. balking

By Kumar Goshal

A SUMMIT MEETING seemed tantalizingly closer to reality last week as Moscow took up President Eisenhower's challenge to get down to business if it really wanted a conference.

On Feb. 28 ambassadors of the NATO and Warsaw Pact members and some neutral nations in Moscow received a Soviet memorandum proposing a foreign ministers' meeting in April to arrange a summit conference in June.

In the days before the Soviet note was delivered, Moscow's new Ambassador to Washington, Mikhail A. Menshikov, had been working ceaselessly to promote wider trade and cultural exchanges and to smooth the road to the summit. In press interviews, visits with key members of Congress and speeches before organizations, Menshikov had proposed:

- Exchange visits by members of Congress and the Supreme Soviet.
- Increased trade in Russian food products, furs, minerals and oil drilling machinery (highly praised by U.S. oil men who visited the Soviet Union) and American machinery, industrial equipment and industrial and agricultural products.
- A U.S.-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation as a step toward "peace on our planet."

EASY, ONCE AGREED: On the day the Soviet note reached Washington, Menshikov said it would be "easy" to prepare for a summit meeting once it was agreed that one should be held. He added: "The very act of holding . . . a conference on a high level would be a vivid demonstration of the readiness of governments to direct their efforts toward strengthening peace."

Foreign diplomats in the Soviet Union saw Moscow's concession "as further evidence of the U.S.S.R.'s deep desire for a summit conference." Paris "registered satisfaction" and London believed it had "improved the chances of holding a suc-

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Count Me In

On our 1958 campaign for 10,000 new GUARDIAN subscribers

☐ I will help in my neighborhood (shop, local, political or other organization, on my campus or other area.)

☐ Send me a free bundle of 3 GUARDIANS weekly until further notice, to show around.

☐ Send me a supply of $1 introductory sub blanks and business reply envelopes.

☐ Reserve a copy of Vito Marcantonio's book "I Vote My Conscience" for me, as offered on p. 6.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... Zone .... State ....

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

John Davis Lodge, U.S. ambassador to Spain, in an Atlanta speech on austerity:

"We must show that we are more capable of sacrifice than the people for whom austerity may be both a necessity and a creed. They perhaps have only their lives to lose. We Americans have more to give up and therefore more to defend."

—Chicago **Sun-Times**, 2/21

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mildred Falk, Chicago, Ill.

Fable, circa 1958

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Once upon a time, there was a man named Foster John, who was like Ishmael—a wanderer. Now, Foster John, in the classic manner, rode upon an ass, and the ass looked to be an able and stable mount. But man and beast wandered around in a pattern of circles, which was broken when the rider came skidding, on his mount, up to a Brink. In reality though, these Brinks were nothing more than mirages in the wastelands through which Foster John meandered. Always followed by clouds of doves (species Picasso) he would often break into a gallop to get away from their irritating presence. But when he galloped, he always kept to the level terrain, and never, never would take his mount near anything that remotely resembled a summit.

Foster John always identified himself as a Secretary of Fate. But this was very confusing as he rode in opposite directions from her, and never failed to garble her dictations. When last seen, the rider was haggard and woebegone, while his mount was weary and had started to drag. It looked like he was losing it.

Sam Pavlovic

Which race?

STATEN ISLAND, N.Y.

How about a race between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to see who conquers cancer, mental illness, heart disease, etc., first? Wouldn't this benefit mankind more than the race to outer space and an atomic buildup for destructive purposes? **Sam Kelberg**

Seven years of silence

PALM SPRINGS, CALIF.

My solution for guys like Howard Fast is quite simple. Send them to Coventry for seven years and sweat it out in silence. By then all the bitter juices would have dried and they might have something sweet to say. Or they might have nothing to say, which would be just as well.

I wish somebody would trace the number of countries that kept on top under any political or economic system with their budgets running more than 50% in unproductive military efforts. It seems to me like trying to win a crap game against loaded dice.

Frank Scully

Freedom from fear

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I must thank and congratulate you for publishing the remarkable and deeply stirring speech of C. A. Iglesias entitled "Freedom from Fear" (1/27). It expressed intimately my own feelings of recent times. I saw in it a biting denunciation of the totalitarians of both the Right and the Left. Some issues are so beclouded even among progressives that such penetrating statements are badly needed these days. Viva Iglesias!

G. Larrabbee

•

AKRON, O.

The Spectator column, "Freedom from Fear,'" reaches down into the soul and reveals the author of **The Destroyed** (Puerto Rico's C. A. Iglesias).

How can the capitalist tyrants ever hope to defeat an individual who expresses as much conviction as he does?

The tyrants have feared that the people would learn the truth of their tyranny more than they have feared anything else. They desperately try to make an issue out of communism to mislead the people but they know in their desperation that they cannot make an issue of the truth. The Pilates of today are still asking, "What is truth?"

Surely the eternal law of truth uncovers and exposes everything unlike the truth. **John Downey**

Attention Angelenos

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The L.A. Eastside National Guardian Committee was organized some 3½ years ago. We have averaged yearly about 100 sub renewals and 12-15 new subs to the GUARDIAN, about $500 yearly cash contributions and the sale of 50-75 sets of the GUARDIAN holiday greeting cards. We sold some 15 copies of the recording **The Unforgotten Man** and 20 copies of Belfrage's **The Frightened Giant.**

To the progressive community on the Eastside of L.A. we brought such nationally known speakers and lecturers as Martin Hall, Scott Nearing, attorney Leo Branton Jr., Kumar Goshal, Anna Louise Strong, Carl Marzani, and Dr. Annette T. Rubenstein.

On March 22 we shall again have the Nearings, Scott and Helen, and their report on their recent trip around the world. (See ad on p. 10).

We have become a tightly-knit part of the GUARDIAN Staff in New York. Time and again they have written us: "If we had 50-100 such committees, all our problems of circulation and finances would be solved."

While we cannot do much about other cities, we do propose to help form similar committees in Los Angeles. We shall give them wholeheartedly the benefit of our experience.

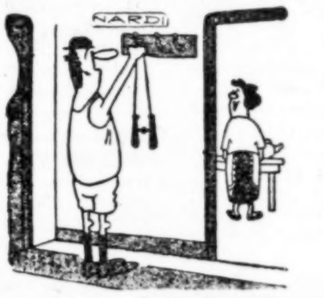
Will GUARDIAN readers in various parts of Los Angeles interested in such work contact the writer by phone?

Jack Fox
2331 Brooklyn Av.
ANgelus 8-7777

Cracker to Hillbilly

ATLANTA, GA.

As the "Hillbilly" from Lexington, Ky., said in your Feb. 3 issue, it was easy to be an abolitionist in the North. And in modern times it has been easier to be a progressive up there. But there have always been the Don Wests of the South who had the guts to stay in the South and stand for justice. The irony is that often they have been ignored by their Northern counterparts, and they sometimes have to fight not only Southern reaction, but wage a fight for clarity against the smug "superiority" of Northern progressives. **Georgia Cracker**



London Daily Mirror

"Did our horse win, honey?"

Heartfelt thanks

BRONX, N. Y.

Please accept Mrs. Green's and my heartfelt thanks for your efforts on behalf of our husbands' freedom. While we were not successful in securing amnesty for Gilbert Green and Henry Winston this past Christmas, we are deeply confident and encouraged by the wonderful response we have received from your readers in answer to our appeal. **Edna Winston.**

Clothes for kids

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Please run again in your columns the address of Harry and Grace Koger in Texas. I have accumulated quantities of baby clothes as per their request but I've mislaid the address.

Name Withheld

Rt. 3, Longview, Tex. They take stuff for grownups too—Editor.

A correction

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Permit me to correct an error in your paragraphs on the February issue of **Jewish Currents.**

Our subscription price is $3 in the U.S. and its possessions, and $3.50 elsewhere.

I think those of your readers who are parents and concerned with problems of bringing up Jewish children to be conscious progressive Jews will be interested to know that in the March issue of **Jewish Currents** we are starting a new department, "Parents Corner," that will discuss such matters and invite reader participation.

Morris U. Schappes,
Editor.

Gallery fan

BALTIMORE, MD.

The GUARDIAN is becoming more readable. I like The Gallery and the cartoons continue to be very interesting. **A.R.K.**

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REPORT TO READERS

Sobell moved off Alcatraz

(Continued from Page 1)

and for what it means in terms of progress. Imagine—being able to see the length and breadth of the land after such a period of close confinement. To see the people, at work, at play, the engines, the rivers, the fields, the houses . . .

"In such cases as this, what is happening now, one looks for cause and effect. We have the effect, but what was the cause? You will thank everyone for me, as well as for yourself and the children, for their efforts. Each will understand my thanks. I'm sure this will give everyone a lift, even as it does me; for which I am very glad."

SON HEARS THE NEWS: The news reached many before Sobell's letter reached his wife, since he had also written to his California lawyer, Benjamin Dreyfus. Mrs. Sobell was in Boston when Dreyfus confirmed to her on Tuesday night, Feb. 25, that the transfer was in progress. She telephoned her home in New York, where Sobell's mother, Rose, was "baby-sitting" with 9-year-old Mark, the Sobell son. Helen Sobell tried to keep a note of excitement out of her voice as she told her husband's mother, and they discussed whether Mark should be told so late at night. But Mark was awake.

"Something happened, and I want to know what it is," he declared. So that Tuesday night Mark's grandmother told him the best bedtime story he has ever heard. The child pondered the news, then asked his grandmother:

"Tell me the advantages of Morty's being in Atlanta."

On the trip east to Leavenworth, Sobell slept badly, sitting up, manacled, in a railway seat, but enjoyed the meals and the "real coffee" for the first time in five years. At Leavenworth, where the length of his "stop-over" is not known, he had breakfast Thursday morning and was permitted to visit the prison library, also a "first" in five years.

"TO TOUCH HIS HAND": It was a full week after Sobell's departure from Alcatraz before Mrs. Sobell issued a public statement on the transfer, expressing her "heartfelt thanksgiving."

"To those who are not familiar with the inhumanity of Alcatraz," she said, "it may seem a small victory. But to know that now, after more than five years, our family may touch our beloved's hand and speak to him face to face is a great joy.

"To no longer be forced to make a 6,000-mile trip each time we visit is a blessing. I hope the time will come when these minimum privileges will be accorded to all those unfortunates in Alcatraz, but meanwhile we are grateful that our own situation is improved.

"My husband's mother, Rose Sobell, who is now in a New York hospital undergoing surgery on her eyes, has asked me also to express her gratitude. The removal of my husband from Alcatraz offers new hope that she will realize her one desire of life—to see her only son free.

"Morton's mother and I have the responsibility of knowing that he is an innocent man, wrongly convicted in a trial that took place during a time of national hysteria. Throughout our country and the world many voices have been raised for my husband's freedom. Many have felt that his being sent to Alcatraz was an extreme example of the pressures and vindictiveness of the period in which he was tried. His transfer from Alcatraz is an indication that we are moving into a more rational time. It is our hope and belief that this action is a prelude to his freedom, for he does not belong in any prison."

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WE OF THE GUARDIAN join Helen and Rose Sobell in their deep gratitude to "those who have helped us in the past, and those who will continue to help . . ." This is a case on which the GUARDIAN has campaigned for nearly eight years, since in the summer of 1951 we began to unfold the tragic story of the dread injustice to the Rosenberg and Sobell families in the atom-spy hysteria of the time. A world outcry failed to save the Rosenbergs' lives in 1953. But people of good conscience fought on for Sobell. His transfer is an interim victory in that fight. His complete freedom is asked in an appeal now before the President, signed by many distinguished Americans, to which hundreds of new names are being added every day.

We urge you to write now to Helen Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y., asking her to add your name to those seeking her husband's freedom.

We know you join us in our respect and admiration for Helen and Rose Sobell, for their ceaseless effort to free the man they know to be innocent. Two finer, more selfless people it has hardly been our lot to know. You can, and should, help crown their great effort with ultimate success.

—**THE GUARDIAN**

CHILDREN ON TRIAL

The law's cure for seven wrong kids: Electrocute 'em

By Elmer Bendiner

SEVEN BOYS SAT in a row and answered "Present" when the roll was called. They were neatly dressed. Their hair was combed. They sat up straight and solemn as in a school assembly. Occasionally one would turn his head as if to catch a friendly eye. Behind each boy sat an attendant, sidearms discreetly hidden. The seven children were on trial for their lives in New York's General Sessions court.

Up front a boy whom the seven had chummed with after school had just completed a recitation in which he told how still another lad had been stabbed and beaten to death near the swimming pool in Highbridge Park in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan on the evening of July 30. Although the District Attorney and the Judge had to remind 15-year-old Victor Carrosquillo to speak up, it was clear he would get a passing grade, for he described the killing, named the boys, pointed out the murder spot on photographs and charts. He was there at the murder scene, he said, and though he had passed his 15th birthday, the legal requirement for qualifying as defendant in a murder trial, he had not been indicted. He qualified instead for a reform school.

'CAPT. OF THE TOTS': Victor named the boys who went on the "rumble" with

LOUIS ALVAREZ
He wasn't coddled

him, using nicknames like "Big Man" and "Jello." He did not seem disturbed as he informed on his pals. And his former friends did not seem angry with him. One of them was said to have remarked sadly: "I wonder why he lies."

Under cross-examination Victor Carrosquillo said he was "Captain of the Tots" of the Egyptian Dragons, to which the seven accused children belonged. His job was to organize youthful auxiliaries among the pre-teens.

Defense attorneys drew from him the story of what happened in the station house when cops gave the kids their lesson in justice and cool courage. Victor said:

"I called another boy a juvenile delinquency. He looked like a juvenile delinquency. An officer thought I meant him. He called me up and I went up and said, 'Sir,' and he punched me in front of my lip and then when I fell down he pushed me over to another officer and he kicked me in the ribs."

NO TEETH MISSING: Victor, a short boy for his age, stood up and, at the District Attorney's suggestion, Judge Irwin D. Davidson leaned over the bench and peered into the child's mouth. Then the Judge solemnly declared the record would show that though some teeth might be loosened, none was missing.

Over the District Attorney's objections, Judge Davidson allowed Victor to demonstrate how an officer stepped heavily on his toes during the questioning. The Judge said the record would show "a grinding motion with the forward part of the foot."

It was not really so much a trial as a ritual. The grown-ups had successfully conspired to keep out of the record anything of substance and to admit all that was trivial. It was a matter of grave importance to measure the length of the stick that beat Michael Farmer to death in the park, but the court would not allow the attorneys for the seven to call their clients "children."

And all discussion as to why and how a boy joins up with the Egyptian Dragons or the rival gang, the Jesters, was ruled irrelevant. The jury was to hear only the manner in which Michael Farmer died and whatever evidence the District Attorney could offer as to who struck the fatal blow.

On a table in front of the jury box rested Michael Farmer's blood-stained jacket, to remind this group of middle-aged men as they file in each morning that murder has been done and that the state is asking them to get even by murdering those who did it. There can be no plea in the courtroom against capital punishment—even for children. It is all irrelevant because a verdict of "guilty as charged" in this case makes the death sentence mandatory—though the jury can still find the boys guilty of a lesser crime such as manslaughter.

BARRED FROM POOL: In the court room ritual it is irrelevant that in Washington Heights the only public swimming pool is in Highbridge Park. In mid-July, a few weeks before young Farmer met his death, a group of boys, members of the Egyptian Dragons, who live a mile or so below the pool, tried to swim there. Most of the Dragons are Negro or Puerto Rican.

The pool is in an area held by the Jesters, mainly white. The Jesters surrounded the Dragons on that summer evening and made it plain with clubs and sawed-off shotguns that no Dragons could swim in the public pool. The Dragons retreated.

A week later they sent a "peace mission" of three to ask the Jesters for permission to swim in the pool on certain pre-arranged evenings. There was in this as in all other matters surrounding the crisis between the groups, a neat imitation of grown-up crises, diplomacy and cold-war, but at no time did either side dream of going to the adult world for protection.

THE 'DRAFTEE': According to the Dragons, the Jesters badly beat the members of the "peace mission." On July 30 the Dragons drank wine, built up their spirits, scrounged for weapons their grown-ups had cast off, or made their own, and invaded the park.

Not all who marched uptown that summer evening were feeling heroic. Richard Hills was a draftee, allegedly forced into the gang by Dragon recruiting sergeants while he was walking his dog one evening. He had been forced to run the gauntlet of boys swinging garrison belts after he had dodged one draft.

Ordered to show up on July 30 with a weapon, he took along his dog chain. The police allegedly persuaded this youngster, just turned 15, to confess that he used the chain and the DA has demanded his life along with the others. His mother comes daily to court and now and then Richard tries to smile at her. He has already spent seven months in jail and his smile is somewhat feeble.

It is hard to know what was passing through the mind of Louis Alvarez, president of the Egyptian Dragons, more a post of honor than of command, for in the curious microcosm of Dragon-Tots there are figure-heads as in the adult world. Louis' father and mother were separated and Louis lived with his father, a house painter who wanted his son to grow up in the trade, though his son hated it violently.

Louis' father was a busy man who believed that a good beating was what a boy needed every time he strayed. Louis was not "coddled." His friends say Louis was a quiet boy and a girl who knows him said he was always "sad." But Louis had status among the Dragons and a responsibility to further their cause, to avenge their wrongs.

THE SIMPLE RULES: In the mural behind Judge Davidson a goddess-like figure of justice is depicted by two children, one of whom is drawing a sword. It is barely possible that Louis, who is supposed to have carried a blade, thought of himself that way. He had no other reason for "rumbling" with the Jesters—not money nor personal gain that sober adults consider understandable as a motive. But whatever Louis or Richard thought is irrelevant in court. The rules are simple: if the children killed, they have to be killed.

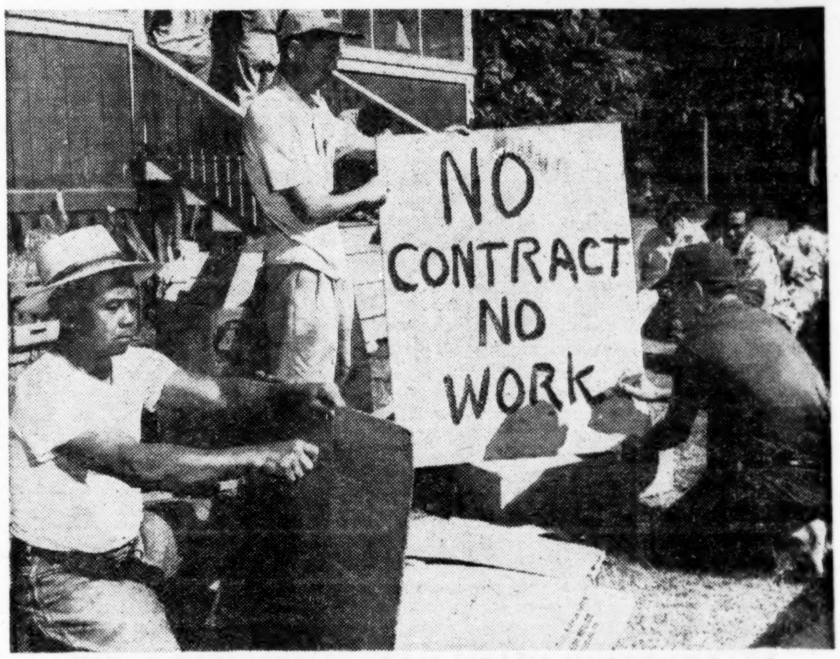
It is hard to know who wrote the rules: the District Attorney or the Egyptian Dragons. Both follow the same code. The children, though, would skip the righteous rigamarole. They never smile at the antics of the lawyers and they probably do not understand all the fine points of law. But the one thing that baffles them most, it is said, is that adults could be found to defend them.

They are grateful for their lawyers but find it odd that in the running war between children and grown-ups, some grown-ups could defect to the side of children. It is not like the world in which they are living.

Juvenile problems — an adult dilemma

YOUNG PEOPLE WILL BE SUBJECTED to the ideas, the attitudes and the moral standards of many people on many levels. We cannot run away from the situation and there is no place to hide. Isolation is impossible. Whether I like it ot not, my neighbors' morals and ethics will affect my children, and my family's practices will affect his children. I am my brother's keeper, and he is mine."

—The Rev. Dr. Allen E. Claxton on CBS Radio's "Church of the Air."



SUGAR STRIKERS' SLOGAN MEANS WHAT IT SAYS

HAWAII's 13,000 sugar plantation and mill workers were still set for a long fight last week in a walkout that began Feb. 1. C. Brewer & Co., one of the Island's controlling Big Five, admitted in a letter to its stockholders that the strike is 100% effective. Led by the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, the strikers have rejected management's proposals to keep sugar cane alive by doing irrigation, weeding and other work in the fields. Strike leader Mitsuo (Slim) Shimizu called the proposals "a device to prolong the strike" and told management they "confirm our belief that it is your intention to try to starve the workers into accepting your piddling wage offer or something near it." Original union demand was for a straight 25c-an-hour across-the-board increase; employers offered 4c to the lowest paid workers now getting $1.12 an hour. Just before the strike deadline, employers rejected a union offer to bargain for something less than the original 25c. Federal mediators last week reported both sides still "very far apart." Adhering to an old ILWU practice, all officials of Hawaii Local 142 went off the payroll for as long as the strike lasts.

CULTURAL NOTE

U.S. ignores prize violinist; Poles to rescue

WHEN AMERICAN VIOLINIST Sidney Harth won second prize at the Wieniawski International Competition in Poznan, Poland, last December, he thought a new world had opened for him. Missing first prize by only three points, disappointment was erased by Soviet virtuoso David Oistrakh who advised Harth that it did not matter in terms of engagement offers. Oistrakh himself had placed second in 1935.

Immediately offers for a six-month European tour came from Polish and Belgian agencies. But Harth preferred to return home. Here he found an indifferent reaction. Except for the Louisville orchestra, of which he is concert master, no one paid him attention. The State Dept., which had blessed his trip, sent its congratulations five weeks after the contest's end. In New York no concert manager would see him. There seemed to be no hope for a concert at home.

RARE TRIBUTE: To the rescue came the Polish Embassy in Washington. On Feb. 20 the Polish Ambassador, Romuald Spasowski, presented Harth in two concerts in the capital. Invited guests included leaders in diplomatic, government, social and artistic circles. The N.Y. **Times** sent music critic Howard Taubman to report the event. He wrote: "The Polish Embassy gave Americans a lesson in the proper way to take pride in its artists... Rarely has an official representative of a foreign country, particularly one in the Russian bloc, paid so graceful and practical a tribute to a young American musician."

Of his playing Taubman said: "Mr. Harth showed that he is exceptionally gifted . . . [he] has a glowing personality and a sweeping style."

An unidentified Senator in the audience said: "He's good, ain't he?" Taubman commented in his review: "Yes, Senator, he is very good. But why wait for the Poles to help us find out?"

DR. DUBOIS AT 90 OFFERS A PIECE OF ADVICE

To an American born last Christmas Day

On March 2 the Grand Ballroom of New York's Roosevelt Hotel was filled to overflowing with more than 1,000 guests at the 90th birthday party of Dr. W. E.B. DuBois. Friends who hadn't seen each other for five or ten years exchanged excited greetings. There were familiar faces from Jersey, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Baltimore and Washington, D.C. The greetings came from all parts of the world. One observer said: "It takes Dr. DuBois to bring out the best in us."

Author Truman Nelson paid glowing tribute to "this Country's First Citizen." Dr. John Hope Franklin, head of the Brooklyn College History Dept., acknowledged the debt he and other scholars owe to Dr. DuBois. He announced that, in partial fulfillment of their obligation, the DuBois Lectures are being established at Fisk University. Former N.Y. Domestic Relations Court Justice Hubert T. Delany presented a handsome, leather-bound book of greetings signed by the guests; and a handsome check to help enable Dr. DuBois to continue his work. Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, who with Angus Cameron headed the Birthday Committee, presided with great charm.

Through all of this the youngest of all the guests reclined in his mother's arms. He uttered not a word, but took in the proceedings with more than casual interest. A grand party came to a perfect end as the oldest of persons present addressed the following words to the youngest:

THE MOST DISTINGUISHED guest of this festive occasion is none other than my great-grandson, Arthur Edward McFarlane II, who was born this last Christmas day. He has kindly consented to permit me to read to you a bit of advice which, as he remarked with a sigh of resignation, great-grandparents are supposed usually to inflict on the helpless young. This then is my word of advice.

As men go, I have had a reasonably happy and successful life. I have had enough to eat and drink, have been suitably clothed and, as you see, have had many friends. But the thing which has been the secret of whatever I have done is the fact that I have been able to earn a living by doing the work which I wanted to do and that work was what the world needed done.

I want to stress this. You will soon learn, my dear young man, that most human beings spend their lives doing work which they hate and work which the world does not need. It is therefore of prime importance that you early learn what you want to do; how you are fit to do it and whether or not the world needs this service.

Here, in the next 20 years, your parents can be of use to you. You will soon begin to wonder just what parents are for besides interfering with your natural wishes. Let me therefore tell you: parents and their parents are inflicted upon you in order to show what

kind of person you are, what sort of world you live in and what the persons who dwell here need for their happiness and well-being.

IT WAS MY UNUSUAL good fortune in the first 25 years of my life to learn by effort and hard competition just what I could do; then to get a fairly good idea of what the world was in which I must work. In these years I had seen the United States, North and South; I had lived in England, France, Germany and Italy; I had listened to the advice of some of the world's greatest minds and I had heard from the lips of human beings just what their problems were. Beside this, I had seen the Atlantic Ocean, the high Alps at Berne, the Venus of Milo and the Sistine Madonna.

Then I came home prepared to work. It was then, in the summer of 1892, 66 years ago, that I made a quite unconscious choice: I chose to begin my life work for the pleasure of doing it and the need of its being done and not for the money I was going to be paid for doing it. This was no great and advertised occasion; I asked no advice and none was proffered. I chose without hesitancy or question.

It was in this wise: after borrowing money to pay for postage stamps, I wrote the nation and offered my services. The response was slow and unenthusiastic. But at last three offers came. Wilberforce, a Negro college in Ohio, offered me $750 a year as a teacher. A state school in Missouri offered me $1,050.

I WENT TO WILBERFORCE not because of any martyr complex but because I knew something about Wilberforce. I knew that in 1787, when this nation was declaring all men equal, two black men were on their knees praying to God in the fashionable church of St. George's in Philadelphia. While St. George's was glad to see Negroes practice the true religion, they did not like them to clutter up the aisles of this church and to assail God with such vehemence. Two deacons therefore approached these black men and whispered gently that it would be more seemly if they would finish their prayers in the balcony. The balcony was much nearer heaven than the main floor.

But these Negroes were stubborn. They said, "No, we are going to finish our prayers right here and now. Then we are going to get up and leave this church and we are never coming back." So one of these men, Richard Allen, left the white Methodist church and founded the African Methodist Episcopal church which today is one of the largest Negro organizations in the world.

And one of Allen's successors, Bishop Daniel Payne, bought a site in Southern Ohio and founded a college called Wilberforce. And Wilberforce in 1892 offered me a job teaching which I hastened to accept because at Wilberforce I planned to develop a university like the University of Berlin for the uplift of the Negro race in America.

QUITE INCIDENTALLY, Wilberforce offered me enough to live on during this work. The fact that the Missouri state school offered me $300 more seemed to me of no importance.

Right here, my esteemed great-grandson, may I ask you to stick a pin. You will find it the fashion in the America where eventually you will live and work to judge that life's work by the amount of money it brings you. This is a grave mistake.

The return from your work must be the satisfaction which that work brings you and the world's need of that work. With this, life is heaven or as near heaven as you can get. Without this—with work which you despise, which bores you and which the world does not need—this life is hell. And believe me, many a $25,000-a-year executive is living in just such a hell today.

Income is not greenbacks, it is satisfaction; it is creation; it is beauty. It is the supreme sense of a world of men going forward, lurch and stagger though it may, but slowly, inevitably going forward, and you, you yourself with your hand on the wheels. Make this choice then, my son. Never hesitate, never falter.

AND NOW COMES the word of warning: the satisfaction with your work even at best will never be complete, since nothing on earth can be perfect. The forward pace of the world which you are pushing will be painfully slow. But what of that: the difference between a hundred and a thousand years is less than you now think. But doing what must be done, that is eternal even when it walks with poverty.

And I care not to garner while others
Know only to harvest and reap.
For mine is the reaping of sowing
Till the spirit of rest gives me sleep.

REVOLT IN PARLIAMENT TOO

Labor's 'Daily Herald' joins British drive to ban A-bomb

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

A WEEK AFTER THE RALLY launching the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (GUARDIAN, 3/3), London's **Daily Herald** caused a first-class political sensation by hopping on the CND bandwagon. The clean break with H-bomb "defense" policy, to which the Labor Party committed Britain when it was in power, was particularly startling in a paper long regarded as the organ of Labor's Right-wing.

Coming out in three scare-headlined editorials for unilateral nuclear disarmament as "A Policy for Staying Alive," the **Herald** after years of sagging circulation suddenly could not meet the demand for copies. From Laborites came two letters to the paper: 69 MP's, including some Right-wingers, supported the **Herald's** opposition to U.S. nuclear rocket bases here under any circumstances. Party secy. Morgan Phillips, recalling assurances that the **Herald** would remain "loyal" after the party relinquished its part-ownership last year, expressed the leaders' "profound disturbance." He accused the paper of appearing to "undermine the party," and to "interfere in private discussion between the party and the Trades Union Congress" on a defense-policy statement.

ALREADY NAKED: Repudiating either pacifism or neutrality, the **Herald** asked for "the pressure of the people—your pressure" to stop Britain in moving any further "along the road to a nuclear hell." It said: "If war starts we shall be exterminated. . . . Britain is already naked; it is an illusion to imagine H-bombs can clothe us in garments of safety or prestige; they can merely bankrupt us. . . . One of the three nuclear Powers must have the courage to break through the fear that petrifies East and West alike. . . . **Somebody** must start, so let **us** start —and blazon our actions across the world." Just before and just after the **Herald's** triple salvo, it was learned that the U.S.S.R. had set off three more nuclear test explosions.

The paper's unexpected stand came after Tory Defense Minister Sandys announced signing of the agreement for an unspecified number of U.S. rocket bases in Britain. On that evening the House of Commons lobby, as during the Suez incident, was filled with hundreds of protesting citizens.

Premier Macmillan, admitting that 80% of the voters in a recent by-election opposed H-bomb policies, said they must be educated to understand the truth. Then defense policy was "debated" through two soporific days in which the nation-wide alarm barely penetrated into a half-empty House.

THE AIM OF DEFENSE: On the government's policy of nuclear reprisals even for non-nuclear "aggression," Labor defense spokesman George Brown "was more vague than the White Paper which he criticized for ambiguity" (**Manchester Guardian**).

Meanwhile the Liberal Party came out officially for British abandonment of nuclear weapons "if their manufacture, testing and use cannot be stopped" everywhere. The **Times** was well to the left of the Labor leadership in endorsing the view that, "if Mr. Sandys really means what he said, he should make way for someone who realizes that the aim of defense is to defend us, not to destroy us."

A veteran Labor MP commented after the debate that Brown and party leader Gaitskell seemed to have "nailed their colors to the H-bomb, and left themselves no escape hatch as Gaitskell did after his first speech on Suez and the rank-and-file reaction against it. There is going to be a showdown between those in our party who want the H-bomb and don't want socialism, and those who want socialism and not the bomb." Many Laborites thought the crisis might blow up into an irresistible demand for a change in party leadership. This would presumably mean the leadership passing to Bevan, who is playing his cards very close to the chest.

THE PROSPECTS: While it is the fast-snowballing demand for a British lead in nuclear disarmament that has brought the Labor Party crisis to a head, discon-

Sunday Pictorial, London

" . . . And not a word to the neighbors."

tent on other issues has powerfully contributed to it. These include rising living costs and wage-freezes and unemployment, and above all the decontrolling of rents which, next October, may lead to pitched battles between police and thousands of tenants marked for eviction. On rent decontrol even a score of Tory back-benchers are expressing "urgent concern" to Macmillan.

Labor's rank and file are disgusted by their leader's feeble opposition on all these issues. But it is becoming daily clearer that, except in the most solid Tory areas, candidates of whatever party favoring Britain's continued nuclear armament stand a poor chance of election. And a general election is now not far off.

MINNESOTA SURVEY TELLS A SORRY STORY

The ruin of the man on the land

By Louis E. Burnham

COMMANDER IN CHIEF Eisenhower's close-order-drill instructions on how to lick the depression may prove to be just the solution, after all. The President, addressing a National Food Conference on Feb. 24, said: "Basically, here is the problem. Are we going around with our chins up? Or are we looking at the ground thinking of our own dismal troubles rather than putting our eyes straight forward and looking in that direction?"

Almost simultaneously a journalist, chin at right angles to the rich black soil of Minnesota, took a straight look at the farm situation in his state. Carl T. Rowan of the Minneapolis Tribune came up with the conclusion that the agricultural policies of the Eisenhower administration spell ruin for small and marginal farmers.

INCOME DOWN 50%: While the current industrial depression is a six-month-old baby growing at alarming speed, the nation is faced with a man-sized agricultural crisis of seven years' duration. In Minnesota, since 1949, farm expenses have outgrown income by $100,000,000. In 1957 alone net farm income dropped $20,000,000. The small farmer has been steadily losing out in the battle to catch up with the urban standard of living. Per capita farm income was $958 in 1948 as against $1,526 for city folks. By 1956, with prices spiraling all the time, the farm per capita had dropped to $902 while the urban figure had risen to an inadequate $2,018.

Commodore in Chicago Defender

GHOST OF THE PAST

A lawyer in the rural town of Lamberton told Rowan that taxable income today is less than half what it was in 1950. In Southwest Minnesota 85% of all tenant farmers are in financial trouble. In one area where there were none between 1940-50, bankruptcies have, since '50, reached the level of the 1930's. Auction notices on farm properties have begun to appear on the bulletin boards of country banks and in the newspapers.

A TALL TALE: A Clara City banker reported: "A few years ago we were out looking for lending business. Today we are turning down all but our choice applicants because we want to be able to take care of our regular clients."

Tighter credit has meant the difference between failure and survival for thousands of farmers. A wry and rural social humor, characteristic of the Big Depression, has begun to reappear. Like this tall tale:

A poor farmer sat before the town banker and laid out his case for a loan. The banker sat stern and still. Finally he said: "You don't deserve a loan, but I'll make a deal with you. One of my eyes is glass. If you tell me which one it is, you can have the money." The farmer, without a moment's hesitation, pointed to the glass eye. The amazed banker said, "How in the world did you guess?" "Simple," said the farmer. "That one has a little more feeling than the other."

EVEN BANKS CLOSING: But the small-town banker has his problems, too. Where his solvency depends almost solely on the farmer's dollar, deposits have dipped dangerously just as loan applications have increased. Some banks have been practically reduced to check-cashing agencies; a few have closed their doors.

In Minnesota and throughout the Midwest farm belt family-size farmers have put up a bitter—but losing—battle to keep their farms. Increasing numbers, reduced to subsistence farming by the soil-bank policies of Agriculture Secy. Benson, eke out a living by working off the farm almost as much as on. In 1934 only 11.2% of farm operators worked 100 or more days off the farm. Two decades later the figure was 27.9%. Today probably more than half the nation's farm families have one or more members employed at off-farm work during the year.

Of the 5,000,000 farms in the country only half produce for the market. For the other 2½ million families farming is a way of life, often deeply rooted in generations that have been the backbone of the countryside.

SQUEEZING OPERATION: Love of the land, however, is not enough to keep the small farmer on it. Increasingly he finds himself squeezed out of the market and eventually off the farm. The farm population of Minnesota dropped by more than 200,000 between 1949 and '57.

It is a common experience to see the rural marginal man pile his modest belongings on an old-vintage truck, shoo the dogs and cats into the surrounding woodlands, take one last look at the cemetery where his ancestors are buried—and head for the big city. The old homestead goes back to the banker, is gobbled up by the expanding commercial farm corporation, or—if the land is inferior—reverts to the wilderness from which it was wrested a century ago.

As the farmer leaves, the little towns and county seats whose health depended on his trade, find their life-blood drying up. Hardest hit are communities of less than 2,500 population.

CAN'T PLAN AHEAD: These are towns in which wages have traditionally been low, hours long and unions scarce. The Minnesota clerk working a 14-hour day with no overtime (in violation of Federal law) is not the rule, but is not so exceptional. Rowan found the 55-60-hour week a common practice. As one employer put it, anyone advocating a 40-hour week must be "a bum or Communist or something."

One family explained: "We can live but we can't plan ahead. On $70 a week you just don't plan for the college education of three children." A widow with two children "supports" them with a take-home pay of about $30 earned for clerking 46 hours a week.

Some poor farmers and small-town residents seemed to accept their fate with a kind of rugged resignation. A farm wife insisted that, bad as things were, they were outweighed by the benefits of rural living. "Sure I owe some bills," she said. "But I don't owe anything to any psychiatrist. I'm not carrying any ulcer around either."

BASIC CHANGE NEEDED: A hard-hit village family took some solace from the fact that they didn't have to worry about keeping up with the Joneses "because the Joneses we know don't have anything either." A businessman's wife put it: "I don't worry because I know a war or something always comes along."

This seemed to be strictly a minority sentiment, however. As thousands left the small towns, they left in their wake a set of social problems that seemed insoluble without a basic change in the nation's agricultural economics.

First to leave were those most needed if the small towns were to grow—the youth. The advantages of big-city life, brought within easy reach by vast improvements in communication, were luring them. A small-town doctor told Rowan: "How can you keep them out in the sticks after they've seen TV?"

Pulpits were going vacant in rural churches. Schools found it increasingly difficult to get teachers for their dwindling enrollment. Doctors and pharmacists were moving out. Grocery stores, newspapers and other services and marketing agencies continued to fold up.

HE CAN STAY, IF: Despite this picture of rural attrition, some farm producers were prospering as never before. These, of course, were the giant commercial enterprises, the big farm management agencies. Even with farmers ousted from the land wholesale in 1957 the nation's farm production equalled the previous record high despite the fact that the acreage used was the smallest since 1919.

The small farmer could stay, of course, if he could take full advantage of the mechanical revolution in agriculture. But mechanization would be economically feasible if he farmed not a section (one square mile) or half-section of Minnesota soil, but many times the land his father tilled. Such land holdings were only in the hands of the big corporations, and these were extending, not distributing their land.

In 1954, 134,000 farms (2.7% of the total) accounted for 31.3% of all farm products. Since then the imbalance has worsened.

PAINFUL READJUSTMENT: What to do about it?

Rowan seems to have encountered almost as many answers as people. For one small businessman the banning of the farmer's familiar "wishing book" would do the trick: if there were no Sears-Roebuck and Montgomery Ward catalogues, farmers would have to buy from local stores. Another would banish co-ops as a means of re-invigorating "free enterprise."

Most people interviewed, however, were edging up to more basic questions, though

EZRA TAFT BENSON

Only Ike believes in him

it required a painful readjustment of conventional views. In one bull-session a hard-bitten man contended: "It's not good for any community to let one or two men hold life and death power over every farmer or small businessman in town."

Another countered: "You start talking about spreading the wealth and that smacks of socialism or communism." The answer shot back: "Communism, my eye . . . the big business boys are out to kill off the family farm."

THAT EZRA: On one aspect of the question there was widespread and lively agreement. Ezra Benson was regarded "as a sort of agricultural Lon Chaney-Bela Lugosi-Boris Karloff rolled into one." Sixty per cent of Minnesota farmers would like to see him replaced, according to the Minnestoa Poll.

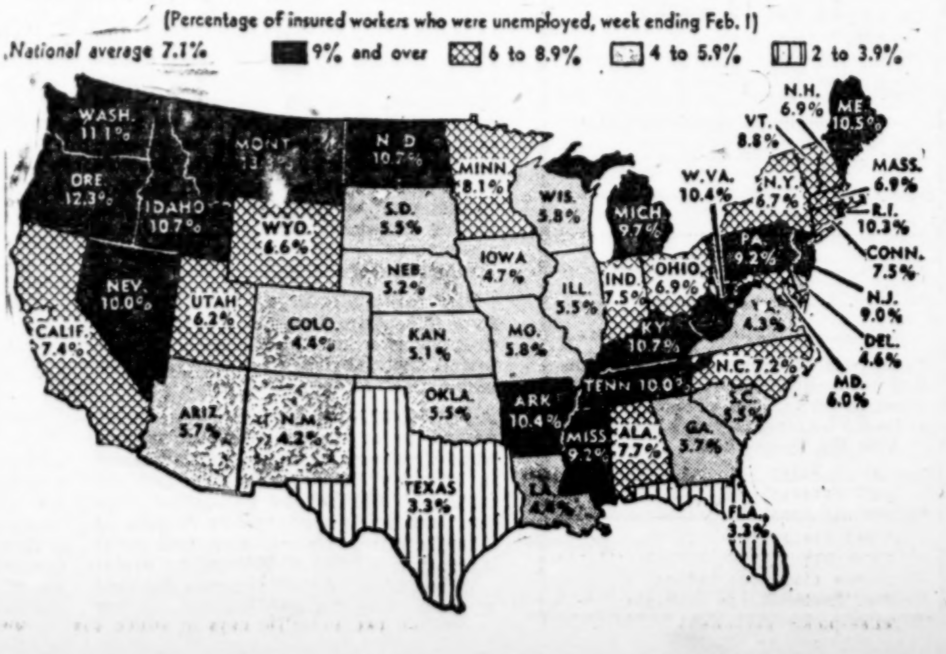
The farmer's dissatisfaction was echoed by a delegation of Midwest Republican Congressmen who demanded that President Eisenhower dump the Secretary to enhance their chances in the '58 elections. The President's response last week—that he has confidence in Benson's integrity—left matters exactly where they were—fouled up.

The Democrats, of course, were unsparing in their criticism but their program differed only in degree from that of the GOP: they called for higher and more rigid price supports for farm commodities. It seemed the nation desperately needed a radical departure from the big business agricultural policies of both major parties.

In the meantime, on the countryside, wealth accumulates—and men decay.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT PICTURE IN U.S.

As the recession turns into depression, the number of persons who have used up unemployment benefits grows. Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Rep. McCarthy (D-Minn.) have introduced legislation in Congress to get the states to liberalize and standardize unemployment benefits (they vary widely now) at $40 a week for 39 weeks. The Federal government would help the states during the transition period. Pennsylvania's maximum is the longest today—30 weeks. Unemployment insurance is a Federal-state program paid for by special Federal and state taxes on employers. Insured unemployment in mid-February was 3,130,-300, and climbing.



THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ROLE OF THE KIBBUTZIM—I

Israeli collectives prove a new way of living

By Dan Leon

(First of two articles)

FOR THE OVERWHELMING majority of the Jews in the world, the great wonder of the State of Israel is that it actually exists—a land where the Jews control their own destiny as a people, where there are Jewish policemen and garbage-collectors, soldiers and statesmen, artists and farmers.

But of special interest to progressives is the sector of Israel life which is perhaps the most significant of all the social developments of the process the Jews call the "Ingathering of the Exiles." This is the society called the Kibbutz (communal settlement).

More than 80,000 Jewish men, women and children are living in 220 kibbutzim in Israel. This unique collective settlement movement has aroused the interest of visitors from everywhere, particularly those of the Left.

BASIC CONCEPT: Many of them see in the complete collectivism of the kibbutzim a significant experiment in a world searching for new values—values which can express in daily life people's aspirations to operate a society based upon the concept: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The State of Israel is not a socialist state; it is ruled by a coalition of Labor forces, but its regime is capitalist, although the Histadrut (the Israel Fedn. of Labor) controls much of its agricultural and industrial sectors. This poses the question: Can a society based upon socialist values exist within a capitalist environment?

Far from being utopian, the kibbutz is a down-to-earth society, living by a certain ideal but deeply involved in the daily problems of colonization, development of the agricultural economy, defense, social problems, absorption of new immigration, education of the new generation, cultural and political life.

Dan Leon settled in Israel from England. He is a founder-member of YASUR in Western Galilee, a young Hashomer Hatzair (Young Guard) settlement.

YOUTH AND SPIRIT MARK THE COMMUNAL WAY OF LIFE ON A KIBBUTZ

A party of settlers and youth from neighboring villages head for the fields.

LEADING FIGURES: Five Cabinet ministers, many Histadrut and Army leaders and popular young Hebrew writers—such as Moshe Shamir and Natan Schacham—are kibbutz members or were educated in its schools and retain its spirit. Kibbutz federations run two of the largest and most respected publishing houses; one of them, Sifriat Hapoalim, the Workers' Book Guild of Hashomer Hatzair (Young Guard), is the largest in the country.

Two of the major Hebrew daily newspapers are closely connected with the kibbutz movement, the best known being Al Hamishmar, organ of the Left Socialist Party (Mapam) and its kibbutzim (Kibbutz Artzi), the largest federation of communal settlements.

Israel's pioneering youth movement delegation to last summer's Moscow Youth Festival was mainly composed of kibbutz youth; their appearance brought forth a tremendous demonstration of Soviet Jews wishing to express their solidarity with Israel.

LARGE ROLE: Containing only 5% of Israel's total population and 30% of its rural population, the kibbutz nevertheless plays a part in the life of the State and the workers' movement far larger than its actual size. It played a leading role in the struggle to create the State of Israel and was the most dynamic element in the colonization of Palestine.

It bore the brunt of Jewish self-defense. During the War of Independence kibbutzim such as Yad Mordechai (named after Hashomer Hatzair leader Mordechai Anielevich, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising commander) became symbols of Jewish determination to repel the Arab invasion regardless of cost.

Of utmost importance is the fact that the kibbutz is the most modern, efficient and technically-developed agricultural unit for a country struggling for economic independence in Israel's circumstances. Russian kolkhoz (collective farm) members visiting the kibbutzim were amazed to see the high levels of mechanization and work-organization that characterize this 100% collective economy. Unlike the kolkhoz, no individual kibbutz farmer profits from any private plot of land. All the land and its profits belong to the collective.

THE ORIGINS: The kibbutz originated from two sources: (1) The efforts of Zionist youth in the early waves of immigration before and after World War I to colonize a land which, if it "flowed with milk and honey" in Biblical times, was then an arid desert and malarial swamp; (2) The social idealism of the early settlers who also wanted to build a better society, drawing their inspiration from European socialism and particularly from the 1905 and 1917 Russian Revolutions, as well as from the spiritual traditions of the Jewish prophets.

The reality showed that only the highest degree of common idealism, cooperation, mutual aid and equalitarianism could provide a framework in which city-born youth could find the strength to transform themselves into workers and pioneers and measure up to the objective tasks involved in colonization.

This synthesis of struggle against almost insuperable material difficulties and desire to build a new and better society made the appearance of the unique kibbutz movement feasible in Palestine.

NEXT WEEK: How the kibbutz works in terms of daily life.

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U.S. ATTORNEY CRITICIZED AS 'SUPER-AMERICAN'

Hawaii judge backs unionist as Red Cross director

NEWTON MIYAGI, secy.-treas. of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in Hawaii, was elected, 17 to 3, in mid-January to the 52-member Board of Directors of the Hawaii chapter of the Red Cross. Chapter chairman is Federal Judge J. Frank McLaughlin, long an outspoken foe of communism and always extremely critical of the ILWU and its officials. As a judge, he once cited Miyagi himself for contempt of court. Miyagi has been called a "communist" by the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities, and a year ago refused to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

First reaction to Miyagi's election came from U.S. Atty. Louis B. Blissard, who resigned as a Red Cross director in protest against the election of an "identified communist" to the board.

A SUPER-BLAST: Blissard's resignation seemed to be in the nature of things; what came next amazed all Hawaii: early in February Judge McLaughlin publicly castigated Blissard as a "super-American" and made a resounding defense of Miyagi's right to serve as a Red Cross director. In a letter to Blissard, he wrote:

"I had expected that you were the kind of person who not only pursued the law as an occupation, but lived it as well; that you did not resort to that brand of super-Americanism that penalizes people for exercising their constitutional rights, even though you may not approve, or convicts a person of a nonexistent crime simply because someone has identified the person as a member in the past of a disapproved organization."

The judge suggested that Blissard would be consistent if he also resigned from the bar association because some of its members have been charged with sympathy to alleged communists, and further noted that the Red Cross is a humanitarian organization and not concerned with individual political beliefs.

THE GENERAL REPLIES: Judge McLaughlin's strong stand was even more surprising to many because he is a Democrat and a candidate for reappointment.

Judge McLaughlin made a full report of the controversy to Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, national Red Cross president, and offered to resign if his stand was embarrassing to the organization. Gen. Gruenther replied: "I do not favor placing communists on American Red Cross chapter boards. I have faith in the people of Hawaii and I am confident that the decision they make in matters such as this will be motivated by concern for the best interest of the community and the Red Cross."

Judge McLaughlin promptly called a press conference and let loose a new blast: "We do not have a communist on our board. The mere fact that a person has been identified—and not by a Federal agency, by the way, but by the Territorial Subversive Activities Commission—does not make him a communist. We do not admit that we have a communist on the board and I defy anyone to prove that we do have."

JUDGE GETS A SALUTE: Newsmen asked: "Does that include U.S. Atty. Blissard?"

"I said 'anyone' and that would include him," the judge replied.

Two other directors besides Blissard have resigned over the issue, but on Feb. 20 the remaining directors saluted Judge McLaughlin for his "forthright public defense" of Miyagi's election. They unanimously adopted a resolution commending the judge, and another reaffirming their election of Miyagi.

The ILWU issued a statement expressing admiration for the board members "who are not afraid of our local McCarthyites."

A THREAT TO 'FEEBLE MONARCHIES'

Egypt-Syria union opens way for future advances

Since the following article was written, the United Arab Republic has been responsible for the hurried federation of Iraq and Jordan. Yemen has signed up with the Egyptian-Syrian republic and King Saud of Arabia has cautiously approved both the republic and the federation, holding back himself in the hope of becoming the balance of power. Algerian liberation leaders have drawn closer to Cairo. A Cairo Radio broadcast in Hebrew Feb. 12 invited Israel to join the new Republic with the assurance that "it would be able to preserve freedom of action both externally and internally." An Israeli Foreign Office spokesman said the invitation could not be taken seriously, in the light of what he called Cairo Radio's unending anti-Israeli propaganda. Egyptians and Syrians in a plebiscite on Feb. 21 formalized the republic and elected Col. Nasser its President with a 99.9% affirmative vote. Thirty-one nations—including a hesitant U.S.—have thus far recognized the republic.

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

PROCLAMATION of the United Arab Republic by Egypt and Syria opens a potentially revolutionary stage in the long struggle for Arab independence. It will, as Paris' **Le Monde** said, "inevitably undermine the feeble monarchies of the Middle East." It threatens ultimately to overturn the internal and external structures of most Arab lands.

Western observers interpret the Republic's birth as a joint maneuver of the anti-communist Nasser government and the Syrian Socialist Ba'ath Party to curb the growing influence of the joint Syria-Lebanon Communist Party, as well as an effort by the Ba'ath to secure a foothold in Egypt. However, these could be **by-products** of the Egypt-Syria union but not its cause.

[*The Arab Socialist Ba'ath (Resurrection) Party has supported President Nasser since the Bandung Conference and has formally supported the Egypt-Syria union since 1956. They believe that the Arabs are one nation and advocate a neutral, democratic united Arabia. They are against imperialism and for social progress everywhere.* Christian Science Monitor *correspondent Geoffrey Godsell said (2/24) the Ba'ath might contribute to the republic what he thought President Nasser lacked: "A coherent, positive doctrine and ideology indigenous to the Arab world and acceptable and attractive to the younger generation of Arab nationalists."*]

Last summer this correspondent found Egyptian progressives pushing hard for union with Syria, hoping this would democratize their own country, open the door to political parties and an opposition in Egypt which Nasser had promised eventually. The new Republic's provision for only one national political party and its strengthening of presidential power will undoubtedly cause widespread disappointment.

IMPORTANT ADVANCE: Yet past illegality did not prevent the growth of the Syrian CP; its influence cannot be easily destroyed now, when communist prestige and power is on the rise internationally. Egypt's three illegal Communist Parties have merged into one and manage to operate underground.

Despite immediate setbacks, in the longer perspective the Egypt-Syria union will result in intensified efforts for greater political and economic democracy. The Egyptian and Syrian revolutions are essentially capitalist revolutions against feudalism and imperialism, within which class differences will have to be fought out.

What a Syrian professor told this correspondent last summer throws light on the real significance of the new Arab Republic: "Look at the map of the Middle East—a perfect example of 'divide and conquer.' These are geometrical concepts, not states . . . Even today nomads are astonished when stopped at frontiers they never knew existed." As a first step to erase these artificial frontiers, the Republic is an important advance against Western imperialism.

YEMEN'S ROLE: Creation of the Republic is electrifying the entire Arab world. **Le Monde** reports that the overwhelming majority of public opinion in Iraq supports the Republic and opposes the Baghdad Pact. The proposed federation of feudal Yemen with the Republic is not as anomalous as it seems: its policy of neutrality—Egyptian and Syrian leaders insist—denotes the independence necessary for Arab unity.

Yemen's neutral policy is not accidental. It has one of the world's oldest trading bourgeoisie, with influence in the government. Unlike Saudi Arabian workers—who cannot travel abroad without risking their heads upon return—Yemeni sailors are often employed on American and other foreign ships and many have for years shipped out of the Natl. Maritime Union's New York hiring hall.

Yemen traded with the U.S.S.R. between the two world wars and early saw the advantage of independent trade relations with East and West. It has imported match and plastic shoe factories from Czechoslovakia. Only recently it permitted foreign concerns to prospect for oil. Yemeni Crown Prince Badr said in Moscow: "The Soviet Union is the only great power in history to abolish colonialism."

OTHER PROSPECTS: Though logical, Yemen's federation with the Republic poses many problems stemming from its medieval backwardness. While the Imam is seeking to preserve his throne, for the people federation means progress. Observers feel it may mean delegation of power and eventual abdication on the part of the Imam in favor of the more progressive Crown Prince, who has just returned from a visit to China.

The Republic's magnetic attraction also extends westward. Tunisia's President Bourguiba, after formally congratulating Cairo, asked the West "to throw him a lifeline." The Sakiet bombing two days later was hardly the answer Bourguiba or other pro-Western North African rulers expected.

Bourguiba has warned his Western friends that "if Algeria, betrayed by the West, slipped down the attractive slope of Arab independence, all Africa would probably follow." Algerian leaders now openly denounce U.S. aid to France in the war against Algeria. And in Morocco, even "respectable" circles have raised the question of forcing Western military bases out of North Africa.

AN EMBRACE FOR THE THIRD MEMBER
President Nasser greets Yemen's Crown Prince Mohamed el Badr

Supreme Court curbs Army on "security" discharges

AT GUARDIAN press time, it was learned that the Supreme Court on March 3 had ruled illegal less-than-honorable discharges given by the Army to draftees charged with "subversive activities" before their induction. The 8-1 decision held that the soldier's military record was the only basis for discharge, and that the courts had a right to review discharges.

The decision affects several hundred former GI's. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which has been fighting for such a ruling for years, said: "The Bill of Rights now applies even to the Army."

Anton Refregier
WOMAN COMBING CHILD'S HAIR

Anton Refregier at ACA Gallery

A COMMENTARY in the descriptive folder for Anton Refregier's latest show at the ACA Gallery, 63 E. 57th St., says of the artist: "It might be said that Refregier has a permanent case of being in love with the human race . . . Like Bernard Shaw, who knew as well as anyone the foibles of human beings, he also has an abiding faith in man's capacity to improve himself and his society."

This love and faith is beautifully demonstrated in Refregier's show, which is so much concerned with life—pregnant women, children, mother love, the sight and sound and smell of nature. In the midst of galleries full of macabre jokes Refregier's work is a breath of spring in a positive world.

The show will last to March 15.

RUNNING OUT OF WITCHES

Investigators fishing in New York and Florida but get no nibbles

AS FEBRUARY came to a close two legislative committees wound up limited fishing expeditions in the political waters of New York City and Miami, Fla.

A sub-committee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities spent two days questioning 17 witnesses behind closed doors in New York's Federal Court House. Most of those called were present or former municipal employes. The private hearings were simply a dress rehearsal for the real show which will be open to the public beginning May 6.

While Rep. Clyde Doyle (D-Calif.), who presided at the hearings, claimed the investigation was so secret that "I can't even tell you what the subject matter is," the N.Y. **Daily News** indicated that when the curtain goes up it will reveal merely an uninspired variation on an overplayed theme. The **News** billed the coming attraction: "Red pawns on the city payroll."

Among those subpenaed was John Gates, former editor of the **Daily Worker** who resigned from the Communist Party in January. Gates told the press he had refused to answer questions of committee counsel Frank S. Tavenner and "had no intention of cooperating with the illegitimate objectives" of the committee. He was continued under subpena until May 8.

NO PROGRESS: In Miami the Florida Legislative Investigating Committee called its public hearings to a halt on Feb. 28 after an unproductive day and a half. Fourteen witnesses had been called; 14 witnesses refused to answer questions. Many others of the 35 persons who had received subpenas were waiting their turns when committee counsel Mark Hawes announced that the probe would close because it was making no headway. The committee's announced intention had been to uncover "communist" activity in the fight for integration. NAACP members and officials were prominent among those subpenaed.

Hawes promised he would seek contempt citations against all the balky witnesses. On the first day of the hearing the committee cited four witnesses: Mrs. Bertha Teplow and Miss Anna Rosenblatt, Rev. Edward T. Graham and attorney G. E. Graves Jr. Graham is a former vice president of the Miami NAACP, Graves is its counsel.

Before adjourning, the committee voted unanimously to extend its investigation to include organizations which "are sowing discord and division between the races and are advocating a course of conduct which threatens violence and violations of the laws of the state of Florida." Rep. Cliff Herrell of Miami Springs, who introduced the resolution, indicated one such organization might be the Ku Klux Klan.

PEACE IS FAVORED BUT YOUR DOLLAR'S ON THE MISSILE
Budget director Brundage charts the disappearing dough

Summit parley

(Continued from Page 1)

cessful summit meeting" (N.Y. Times, 3/2).

Washington, however, as delegates remarked at the UN, seemed determined not to take "yes" for an answer. Its opposition seemed fixed on two points: (1) The Soviet note limited the foreign ministers' conference to preparing the agenda and listing the participants, but not providing for discussion of the substance of the agenda. (2) Secy. Dulles' apparent belief that all Moscow's moves are sheer propaganda.

THE AVALANCHE: The first point would seem amenable to a compromise solution, since the Moscow note did not limit the participants. The second point was more difficult. **Times** Washington correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt reported (3/2) that the Administration—"meaning Mr. Dulles and a few of his intimates"—feared the Russians' greater ability at the summit. Schmidt said:

"Therefore, the Administration would conclude privately, there is still nothing to be gained and much to be lost at a summit conference. Its problem is to cut the political losses involved in resisting the drifts toward such a conference."

While the pressure abroad for a summit meeting reached avalanche proportions, it was more than a "drift" even in the U.S. Leading American figures such as physicist Linus Pauling, industrialist Cyrus Eaton and Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) have influenced public opinion considerably.

'TRIAL AGREEMENT': Former Presidential disarmament adviser Harold Stassen has been a most persistent proponent of a summit meeting with modest, realizable objectives. In two articles written for the North American Newspaper Alliance, Stassen said a "trial agreement" for a two-year suspension of nuclear tests, which "would give us time to seek and make further progress toward a more inclusive and lasting agreement," could be negotiated in 1958. He warned against leaving parleys in the hands of "foreign ministers," insisted that "President Eisenhower is especially able and effective in direct across-the-table talks with other responsible men."

The overall impression in Washington last week seemed to be a grudging admission that a summit meeting eventually is unavoidable.

DULLES OFF AGAIN: Meanwhile, in North Africa and in Southeast Asia, U.S. foreign policy seemed to be coming apart at the seams even as the indomitable Dulles prepared to travel again—this time to the March 11-12 SEATO conference in Manila.

In Tunis, State Dept. troubleshooter Robert Murphy's trained smile became strained as French aggressiveness increased and Tunisians insisted on raising the basic issue of the whole North African conflict: freedom for Algeria.

France doggedly went ahead setting up a No Man's Land of scorched earth along the Algerian frontier, refused to discuss Algerian independence, demanded the right to continue stationing about 20,000 French troops on Tunisian soil and controlling the important Bizerte naval base.

"INSULT TO HUMANITY": Tunisian President Bourguiba called the French scorched earth project "an insult to humanity." It made homeless and destitute 70,000 Algerians who sought refuge in Tunisia. Tunisia's UN representative complained to the Security Council against the forcible eviction of the Algerians and also against "repeated violations of Tunisian air space by French military aircraft."

The pro-West Bourguiba seemed to be trying desperately to stop France from repeating the Indo-China catastrophe and to pressure the U.S. into convincing the French that "the Algerian war is not profitable." After it was disclosed that French Premier Gaillard had consulted his army chief of staff Gen. Ely about the cost of reconquering Tunisia (**Newsweek**, 3/3), Bourguiba insisted on withdrawal of French troops from Tunisia and transfering Bizerte to NATO as measures to safeguard Tunisian sovereignty. Moscow, however, warned that NATO control of Bizerte would be regarded as an unfriendly act.

The French bombing of Sakiet deeply stirred the neighboring Moroccans, who are no less sympathetic than the Tunisians toward the Algerian liberation fighters and just as determined to maintain their own independence. Mindful of the French and U.S. bases harboring nearly 70,000 French and 20,000 U.S. forces in Morocco, the ruling Istiqlal party's newspaper **Al Alam** said:

"We in Morocco can expect a treacherous attack against the centers where there are Algerian refugees . . . [The Sakiet] incident aggravates in our view the danger of annihilation which waits in ambush for the independence of Tunisia and Morocco and arouses us to confront French policy as it is clearly manifested."

OIL AND INDONESIA: In Indonesia, the Sukarno government last week decided to crack down on the dissident regime in Sumatra which, Jakarta believes, has Washington's tacit approval. Among the U.S. stakes in Indonesia is the 3,000-square-mile Caltex oil exploration and development area in Sumatra. One of the world's major oil fields, it produces about 150,000 barrels a day. By mid-year, Caltex expects to use a new 36-mile pipeline, leading to a new port on the Malacca Strait, built at a cost of $125,000,000.

The Jakarta government thus far seemed to have the upper hand. The Sumatra dissidents failed to obtain the support of Mohammed Hatta and the influential South Sumatran military commander, Lieut. Col. Barlian; both urged a negotiated settlement.

The rebels' chances of survival seemed slim unless—as Jakarta feared—the U.S. through SEATO encouraged them and imposed an economic blockade on Java.

The FCC scandal

(Continued from Page 1)

ified to operate it. It was the subsidiary's lawyer who had been so kind to Mack.

Mack's sidelines seemed routine in political lobbying. White-haired 70-year-old Jerry W. Carter, testifying before the apparently outraged House Committee on Legislative Oversight, summed up the nation's political morality with the beguiling frankness of a man who no longer needed favors. For 24 years he had served as a Railroad and Public Utilities Commissioner in Florida. He said the only promise he had ever made to the voters was: "I'll be there on pay day." He added: "And I've always kept my word."

After telling the committee how he had pulled strings to get Mack appointed and how he himself had lobbied with Mack, Carter said: "I've told the people of Florida repeatedly that I'm an ordinary cheap politician. The people I represent in Tallahassee can't afford an expensive one. . . . I'm what they call down here a yeller-dog Democrat. I don't care who the party puts up. I'll vote for him."

A BODY NAMED RCA: Scandal in the FCC was no secret. Last May Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) took note of the impending change in the chairmanship of the FCC. He referred to out-going chairman George McConnaughey as "a former Ohio telephone company lawyer who is winding up one of the most ignominious careers in the history of quasi-judicial regulatory agencies." He recalled that the new chairman, John Doerfer, had worked closely in "the Augean stables" with McConnaughey and both "had demonstrated a penchant for endearing themselves to the networks and the bigger telecasters—the people, in short, whom the FCC is supposed to regulate."

Dingell was pointing to where the body lies buried. The astonishing growth of monopoly, particularly that of the Radio Corp. of America, aided by decades of FCC decisions, is the scandal that affects every TV viewer and could act as a major instrument of censorship in mass communications. The monopoly reaches into the manufacture of equipment as well as programming.

BLACK-AND-WHITE: RCA has accumulated thousands of patents on every phase of TV manufacturing as well as radio and recording. Since 1938 it has lobbied powerfully to persuade the FCC to set up standards that would, in effect, authorize RCA-patented devices and no others. In 1945 and 1947 FCC decisions handed RCA what it asked for: a monopoly on black-and-white TV manufacture.

RCA has maintained that it licenses its patents to all who apply, but allegedly it makes a practice of tying up its patents in large packages. Thus, anyone who applies to make a specific product has to get licenses on a thousand or more other products for which he has no use whatsoever. RCA-NBC and its rival networks now control most TV broadcasting.

Stations within the network are forced to yield the best viewing hours of the day to network programs. Sponsors who buy network time must take vast package arrangements whereby their products and programs are foisted on areas of the country they do not care to reach.

Milwaukee Journal
"My advisers tell me the picture's OK."

The result has been the deadly standardization of TV programs, the blighting of independent producers and of local sponsorship and local programs.

THE FREQUENCIES: But the cornering of TV has another aspect. There are at present 12 channels for general telecasting receivable on most sets. Among the most populous communities in the U.S., only seven have access to four or more channels, 26 have a choice of three, 32 have two and 19 major communities have only one channel. The 12 channels open for TV viewers actually represent only 15% of the potential. How the U.S. vewers came to be shut off from 85% of possible TV broadcasting is a story of FCC blundering, or worse.

The 12 channels commonly used are known as Very High Frequency. There is another frequency range—Ultra High—which, if used, would provide, with VHF, for 70 channels. In the early days, there were no UHF applicants and the FCC licensed only VHF stations. Then, in 1948, when TV was coming into its own, the FCC imposed a freeze on all new stations. It did not lift the ruling till 1952.

Between 1948-52 manufacturers made sets to receive only VHF—some 16,000,000 of them. When the freeze was over, UHF stations—now permitted—found there were very few sets that could receive them. With a limited audience there were few sponsors. The FCC allotted two-thirds of educational TV to the UHF stations and most of these have gone or are going out of business.

ANTI-TRUST SUITS: By setting up this artificial and unnecessary scarcity of TV outlets, the enormous loot of commercial

Herblock in Washington Post
"Rest assured we'll proceed full speed ahead."

TV has been channeled into fewer and fewer hands. Frequently it has been funneled into RCA. The anti-trust division of the Attorney General's office has been investigating RCA practices ever since 1930. In 1932 an anti-trust suit was begun but quickly settled. Years later an RCA lawyer was charged with bribery in connection with that settlement.

RCA's lobby has been energetic and its political connections highly placed. In 1952 the Anti-Trust Division brought RCA before a Grand Jury although Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) tried manfully to stop the proceedings. The head of the anti-trust division who brought the suit was dismissed, the grand jury called off. Another government suit against RCA was opened in 1954 and is still pending.

Last week a Federal grand jury in New York again indicted RCA for monopolizing patents, stifling research and joining in cartels with foreign manufacturers to keep their products out of the U.S. Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff, chairman of RCA, complained that recent anti-trust actions indicated that "conspicuous achievement" of private enterprise was growing "increasingly suspect." Antimonopolists, he said, were giving a "substantial part of the harvest reaped to those who have evaded the labors and hazards of sowing." The railroad barons had complained similiarly years ago and gone on to reap some more.

BOOKS

Paul Robeson takes his stand

PAUL ROBESON'S IS NOW the most widely known case of denial of basic individual rights by a government claiming to be democratic. It is entirely typical of him that, just as his own long fight begins to look a little more promising, he publicly re-affirms the very convictions which got him into trouble.

In a 1952 brief the State Dept. argued that "even if" it was complained that Robeson's passport was canceled "solely because of the applicant's recognized status as spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of independence of the colonial people of Africa."

In his book* Robeson has explanations but no apologies to offer on both counts. He stands as an African by descent to proclaim that, for all oppressed colored peoples, the test of any "white" government is not words about equality but deeds to help them attain it.

As an American he stands "in Harlem and the Harlems of America," indignant at the abuse his people continue to suffer but proud of their 300-year contribution to their country's life and history. He is dedicated above all to winning nothing less than full freedom for them.

What the "Big White Folks" think, he does not care. If they seek to brush him off as a "communist," he recalls his denial of that in 1946 and his reasons for scornfully rejecting questions on the subject in the cold-war years since. His world-view, which was formed in Britain, has remained the same for over 20 years; it is not he but the political climate that has changed.

Fifteen years ago when he spoke of the Soviet Union's liberating policies toward "backward" peoples, he was honored for it in America. In his book he stands on that. He does not discuss the Soviet government's lapses in this area, evidently seeing its entire record as standing the acid test.

Robeson is an artist rather than a politician, but primarily he is a great man with a great heart and brain who "moves by his inner revelations" (as his brother, the Rev. Benjamin C. Robeson, writes in an appendix). Even those who think these "revelations" have led him into mistakes of political judgment could never accuse him of putting his own interests ahead of his people's. Many liberal-minded white readers, and many American Negro leaders, will shake their heads over the militancy expressed in his book. But the case is well and forcefully argued against "gradualism" and for the potential power of mass Negro action at the present stage.

ROBESON IS CONVINCED on the evidence at hand that "wherever and whenever we, the Negro people, claim our lawful rights with all of the earnestness, dignity and determination that we can demonstrate, the moral support of the American people will become an active force on our side."

He has good reason to believe that in the last analysis the Negro must rely upon his own action and develop his own leaders, and that white support will be measured by the extent of such action. The recent events in Montgomery, Ala., in which "the central role" was played by the Negro churches and their pastors, have shown the Negro people's ability to plan and carry out a mass movement.

If some progressives may wish that Robeson had discussed the past errors of the Left in its approach to the Negro question, Robeson might reply that he is looking ahead, not behind. He is speaking not to or on behalf of any particular political group, but as a Negro of long and wide experience to his people as a whole.

To do this effectively, Robeson has avoided leftish phrases and formulations.

He suggests how and for what broad objectives unity could be achieved for the last phase of the struggle. He protests that realization of the rights guaranteed to all on Federal paper leaves no room for compromise.

And he sees the promise of victory in "the faces, so bright, so solemn, of our young heroes—the children of Little Rock. . . . The peoples of the whole world have seen your faces, and the faces of those who hate you, and they are on **your** side."

—Cedric Belfrage

**HERE I STAND, by Paul Robeson. Othello Associates Inc., Box 283, Manhattanville St., N.Y.C. 27. 128 pp. $2.50 (cloth), $1.50 (paper).*

Meet Robeson in Ross

GUARDIAN READERS and friends in the San Francisco-Bay area have a chance to meet Paul Robeson on Saturday evening, March 29, at the home of Vivian and Vincent Hallinan, at Lagunitas and Glenwood Rds., Ross, Calif. The evening will begin with dinner at 7 p.m. The evening is under the auspices of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. The dinner is $5 per person. For information, write GUARDIAN's representative, Isabel Van Frank, 2134 Grant St., Berkeley 3, Calif. Or call THorwald 5-8963.

AN UNFORGETTABLE VOYAGE

The day the ash fell on the Lucky Dragon

SOME TIME THIS APRIL the skies over the Marshall Islands in the Pacific will blaze in a whitish-yellow light that will change to yellow, red and flaming orange. After that, perhaps, white ash will fall over thousands of square miles of ocean. Four men in a 30-foot ketch called the Golden Rule may see that false dawn. Having been turned back once by a storm, the vessel, skippered by Capt. Albert Bigelow, is due to sail again from San Pedro on March 20, to protest, if possible to stop, the spring series of U.S. nuclear bomb tests.

On March 1, 1954, another crew saw a similar spectacle and cried out: "The sun rises in the west." When about five minutes later the ship was convulsed by waves of sound and unnatural gusts that made it tremble, crew members uttered the word "Pika-don." In Japanese it combines two other words, meaning thunder and flash. It entered the Japanese language in 1945 when Hiroshima was blasted.

The 23 men who saw that horrible flash and later combed the white ash out of their eyes and hair were fishermen aboard the Lucky Dragon. They watched each other turn almost black, saw their hair fall out, felt the mysterious itching, the weakness and nausea.

HOW THAT VOYAGE changed their lives and terrified millions around the world is reported by the eminent American physicist Ralph Lapp. In this book* Lapp proves himself a brilliant journalist with an eye and ear for recording human speech and behavior and a heart for understanding the reactions of men and women in a time of monumental menace. Pearl Buck in a foreword writes:

"The story of this handful of men, wandering in a small ship upon the lonely waters of a vast ocean, has the size and power of Greek tragedy.... Innocent and industrious, pursuing their daily duties, these men are eternal symbols of what can happen to anyone, anywhere, unless—what?"

Lapp begins his story with the sailing of the Lucky Dragon from Yaizu, the sayonaras of the married men with their wives, of the bachelors with their sweethearts. As they work, casting their miles of nets and buoys, the lives of the men become vivid with their poverty, worries, fears, hopes and amusements. The keen-witted, studious sake-loving radio operator, Kuboyama, was a father to the crew. Misaki, the fishing-master, was their leader. There were novices and old sea-hands.

DRIVEN BY WORRY over their families' needs, the fishermen sailed far beyond their usual tuna grounds in hopes of a better catch. They knew that the Americans were testing atomic bombs, but on March 1 they were still far outside the danger zones specified by the U.S. when the tests began. The sea was calm, the crew saw no planes or ships; no warning came over Kuboyama's radio set when the sky was suddenly lit and the ashes fell.

They made for Yaizu as fast as possible but they did not reach port until March 14. The men with faces turned black and their hair coming out in handfuls, with lesions appearing on their skin and a nasty itch, avoided their neighbors as they went by back streets to their homes. They checked in at the hospital where the doctor applied ointments to the lesions. He sent two of them to Tokyo for a closer check. So far Japan and the world had only a two-line communique from the U.S. that a nuclear test had taken place, as others had before it. There was no hint of the new U-bomb's devastating character or the winds that perversely had not followed AEC predictions, of the terror that was to come.

Japanese journalism, which apparently outdoes the brashest caricature of a U.S. newshawk, uncovered the story as a first-class scoop. Japanese dailies employ tremendous staffs of reporters, legmen and stringers. The **Asahi Shimbum**, for example, has 1,500 of them around the country. The Yaizu stringer for the **Yomiuri Shimbun** got the tip from a friend.

HE TELEPHONED his editor in Tokyo who dispatched a reporter and photographer to the Tokyo University Hospital. The reporter, refusing to be turned away by doctors and nurses, sneaked into the wards in the middle of the night and called softly for the man from Yaizu. Another patient pointed him out. The reporter woke up the fisherman, got his story, then ran out to try and sneak his photographer in with him. By that time nurses were on hand to keep both out but the **Yomiuri** had the story. It sat on it until the early editions of its rivals had gone to press, then broke out in headlines.

JAPANESE SEAMAN BURNED BLACK BY H-BOMB
Dr. John J. Morton of U.S. examines Sanjiro Masuda of the "Lucky Dragon"

After that Japan came to know again the terror it felt at the time of Hiroshima. Scientists sped quickly to the scene. All the fishermen were hospitalized. Geiger counters showed that the tuna of the Lucky Dragon and of other fishing vessels were highly radioactive. Fish on which Japanese depend was now avoided like the plague and fishermen saw their livelihood shattered.

U.S. officials added insult to the devastating injury by belittling the Japanese doctors' reports, issuing bland assurances that the men were not badly hurt, hinting that the Lucky Dragon crew may have been spying on the nuclear tests, and, under a mad mania for "security," refusing to divulge the chemical nature of the fall-out ash. It was "security" too that prevented all warnings to the Lucky Dragon to seek aid after the unexpected range and destructiveness of that year's bomb became known.

When the radio operator Kuboyama died, it was a day of national mourning and 200 students chanted a hymn called, "A-Bomb Never Forgiven." The U.S. never acknowledged its guilt though it paid an indemnity of $2,000,000, using the phrase "ex gratia"—as a gift, not as a small down-payment for death and terror.

Ralph Lapp's moving account of the tragedy is exciting and required reading in this spring when other "pika-dons" are to burst over the Pacific to the tranquilizing accompaniment of assurances from the Atomic Energy Commission.

—Elmer Bendiner

**THE VOYAGE OF THE LUCKY DRAGON, by Ralph E. Lapp, with a foreword by Pearl S. Buck. Harper & Bros., 49 E. 33 St., N.Y. 200 pp. $3.50.*

Alice Liveright

ALICE LIVERIGHT, who died late last month in Philadelphia, is being mourned in many homes in Philadelphia, the nation and the world. For she was one of those rare individuals with the capacity to develop and maintain intimate friendships with all kinds of people. Nothing was more important to Alice Liveright than people. She would listen with as rapt attention to a 14-year-old discussing the merits of TV classrooms as she would to a State Supreme Court Justice discussing constitutional liberties.

This guiding force in her life led her into social work, in which she distinguished herself professionally. It introduced her to the concept of socialism—a belief which she never abandoned; made her an active partisan of the trade union movement; converted her into a staunch fighter for peace, civil rights and civil liberties; led her to support any move to uproot corruption and privilege. It made her a third party advocate—as vigorous for the Wallace Progressive Party as she was for the La Follette Progressives 24 years earlier.

MANY GOOD WORKS: Alice Liveright held posts in many organizations: Pennsylvania State Secretary of Welfare under Gov. Gifford Pinchot; executive committee member of the state Republican Women's Committee; local and national officer of the CIO office workers union; president of the state Juvenile Aid Society; member of the board of Jewish Charities; the League for Peace and Freedom; Labor Extension School of Bryn Mawr.

From 1948 to 1955, she was chairman of the Philadelphia Progressive Party and local representative on the national PP. Her stubborn faith in independent political action helped keep the Philadelphia PP going long after other branches of the party had collapsed.

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Chicago

PROF. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, author of "Russia Since 1917," speaks on "USSR Since 1917," Hall B-2, 32 W. Randolph, Tues., March 25, 8 p.m. Adm. 90c. Ausp: Chi. Counc. of American-Soviet Friendship.

PAUL ROBESON WILL BE 60 ON APRIL 9th! CELEBRATE HIS BIRTHDAY WITH HIM IN CHICAGO THAT NIGHT. For details CALL ANdover 3-1877

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST FOURTH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET
Speakers: Bert Cochran, Kermit Eby, William Appleman Williams
"Th Crisis of the 20th Century"
Sat., March 29, 6:30 p.m.
Greetings by: Attorney Irving Abrams, Secy. Pioneer Aid & Support Assn., Ernest DeMaio, Vice-Pres. United Electrical Workers; Rev. Alva Tompkins, Pastor Olivet Presbyterian Church. ESSEX HALL, 74th & Blackstone Av. Dinner Don. $3; Students, $2. Reservations call FA 4-7357.

Movie: "Helen Sobell Wins in TV Grilling"
Talk: Next Steps to Free Sobell" by Haven Perkins, Exec. Secy. Chi. Sobell Committee.
Fri., March 11, 8:15 p.m.—Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams St.

Detroit

DETROIT JEWISH FOLK CHORUS invites new members. Rehearsals each Mon. and Thurs. evening, 8 p.m. Riggers Hall, 3711 Fenkell. No voice training necessary. All who enjoy singing welcome.

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MARTIN HALL REVIEWS THE NEWS Every second Thursday at 8:15 p.m. NEW LOCATION: HUNGARIAN WORKMEN'S HOME, 1251 S. St. Andrew's Place (1 bl. W. of Western, corner Pico) Don: $1. Next Meetings March 13 & 27.

"LABOR AND THE ECONOMIC SLUMP" Speaker: Arne Swabeck, Marxist Economist. Sat., March 15, 8:15 p.m., Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St. Auspices: International Socialist Review. Questions & Discussion.

San Francisco

Fifth Annual Testimonial Celebration honoring the Foreign Born—featuring EARL ROBINSON. Also Abner Green. Fri., March 14, 8 p.m., Sokol Hall, 739 Page St. Refreshments—NATIONAL DELICACIES—included with admission of $2. Tickets on sale: No. Calif. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, 948 Market, Rm. 417, Phone: YUkon 2-5984.

New York

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Tues., March 11, 8:30-10 p.m.

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Wed., March 12, 8:30-10 p.m.

THE CONTEMPORARY NOVEL
Impact of World War I
Dos Passos—Hemingway
Thurs., March 13, 6:45-8:15 p.m.

STATE AND SOCIETY
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Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky
DR. STANLEY MOORE
Thurs., March 13, 8:30-10 p.m.

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Organ of reason

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Suppose a man and wife, after a life of work that just about sustained them through so many years, come to a reduced income little better than charity, where most necessities of life become a problem to meet? One has to drastically cut everything that can be cut, never mind how much it does hurt.

Beside the bluff, the lies, the propaganda carried by all the big press, your poor little paper is indeed refreshing and one should really make some sacrifices to keep it alive if possible.

At this point, however, I cannot but wonder how it is possible that in a big country like ours, there are so few liberal-minded citizens who do feel the need of an organ of reason, of redress against the fanaticism, the prejudices of the majority.

Name Withheld

THE GALLERY

TOM GARRETT OF LOS ANGELES is a man whom trouble follows. On Jan. 3 he was laid off by the Douglas Aircraft Co. He has been jobless ever since and each week he dutifully signs for and collects an unemployment compensation check.

On Feb. 14, two inmates of the San Luis Obispo prison broke out and headed for Los Angeles. They broke into Garrett's house and held him and his family prisoner for 24 hours at gun point. When they left without harming him, Garrett figured his luck had changed.

But when he went to sign for his unemployment check, he was looking down a gun barrel again: State Employment Service officials ruled that Garrett was ineligible for an unemployment check that week. According to state law, to receive compensation workers must be "available to work every day of the normal work week." By their logic, Garrett was not available the day he was held prisoner.

A small ray of light came from Gov. Knight who sent Garrett his personal check to cover the amount lost. Garrett said: "That's mighty nice of the Governor. We sure do appreciate it. All that's left now is for me to find a job."

NEW YORK CITY BUSINESSMEN and politicians are hoping that the summer tourist trade will offset the general drop in spending in the city. The N.Y. Convention and Visitors Bureau has upped its promotion budget from $100,000 to $700,000 in an all-out effort to get the tourist dollar. Joseph Binns, vice-president of Hilton Hotels, has been chosen to head the drive. Last week in swearing in Binns as President of the Bureau, Mayor Wagner intoned: "Do you solemnly swear to do everything in your power to bring more tourists and more conventions to New York City in 1958? And to praise our city at every opportunity to everyone you meet, anywhere? And to devote a certain amount of time every day to worrying about whether other cities are getting any business away from us?" Mr. Binns answered, "I do."

Wall Street Journal

"I couldn't help noticing that you glanced toward our window, sir. May I be of any service to you?"

J. EDGAR HOOVER EATS at Harvey's Restaurant in Washington, D.C., once a week, usually on Thursdays. Aside from enjoying the cuisine, the Washington **Post** says he follows the ritual because "the Nation's No. 1 G-man lost his hat in Harvey's during World War II and has never quite given up the hope that someone might bring it back." . . . Welfare Director E. P. Boyden of California's Imperial County says his office is so cramped he started hiring small women to conserve space. "Just as I thought I was beginning to save some," he wrote the County Administration, "one of my clerks became pregnant and took up all the space I had saved."

DISPOSAL OF ATOMIC WASTE has been given much publicity lately as a social problem. But last week the question of how to get rid of poison gas stocks crept into the news. The Army Chemical Corps announced that it planned to scrap "excess stocks" of mustard and lewisite gas by loading them in drums aboard old Liberty ships and sinking them in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The Washington **Post** pointed out that "by 'excess' it was clear that the Army meant that newer and more effective gases have been developed and the existing stocks of lewisite were larger than needed." The newer gases include "nerve gas" developed by Germany toward the end of World War II which (GUARDIAN, April 18, 1955) is manufactured and stored at the Rocky Mountain arsenal near Denver.

An alarming note on the possible effects on marine life was sounded by J. Milton Howard, head of the Pine Bluff, Ark., arsenal, who argued for continued storage because gas "can't be buried, placed under the ocean or burned."

THE ANIMAL INSURANCE CO. OF AMERICA is soliciting owners of pedigreed dogs for canine life insurance policies. Required with each application is a nose print of the dog and for policies of $500 or more, a medical check-up (of the dog). We may soon see a dog willing his fortune to his master . . . Writer Barbara Ward says: "In a very real sense, the material aim of the communist world revolution is to achieve the American way of life." . . . A U.S. Army claims officer in Tokyo, on delivering $1,748.32 to the husband and six children of the woman killed by Sgt. William Girard, was told by the husband: "I don't want to receive money at the cost of my wife . . . I do not thank you for it."

IRVING DILLIARD, editorial writer for the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, was named for the Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award by the American Civil Liberties Union. Cited for praise were his editorials condemning the Smith Act, supporting the Supreme Court on civil liberties issues and upholding the freedom of thought and conscience guaranteed by the Constitution. The **Post-Dispatch** was one of the few papers in the nation which protested the treatment of Cedric Belfrage by the U.S. Government . . . Radio Station KPFA in Berkeley, Calif., carries a children's program of unusual interest. It is a series titled **How Man Became A Giant** and is read by Jack Taylor. . . . New rules for admission to Soviet universities give priority to students who have gone to work for a year or two after high school.

—Robert E. Light

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the SPECTATOR

Infiltrated!

I CAN'T BELIEVE IT. I refuse to believe it. I refer to the House Government Operations Committee pronouncement that filter cigarets are a fake. My filter a phony? What does Washington mean anyway? An American corporation, acting in the best Emersonian tradition, builds a better filter trap than its neighbors—(20,000 in a single cigaret—count 'em—20,000!)—and some carping bureaucrat says, "Sorry, folks. This catches nothing but customers. You may advertise it as sucker bait but not as a nicotine net."

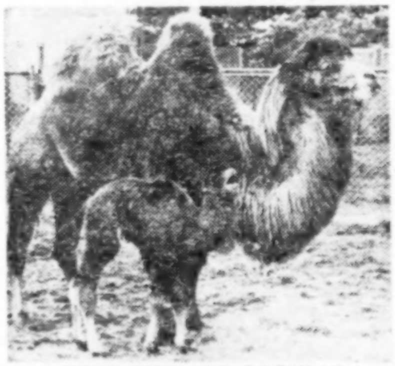
All right. I can give up filters. I can give up smoking permanently. I have, several times. Slinking back to the weed weakens my faith only in myself. I have always been sustained by the comforting continuity in the world around me. But now my stability is threatened. They've pulled a switch overnight. They've yanked the rug from under me while I was strolling down the cultural corridor.

Take my musical life, for instance. Marlboros had done a good job on me. They had upped me from the three B's to the three F's. I was singing "Filter-Flavor—Flip-top Box" like Hoagy Carmichael. Now suddenly some Gogol-esque government official waggles his finger under my nose and snaps, "That first F is a clinker."

AND VICEROY? Every evening Viceroy's TV commercials had bathed me in tepid togetherness. I melted in a pink haze while the adenoidal alto crooned:

Viceroy—Viceroy gives you more
Of what you change—
What you change
To a filter for.

I loved that message. It read like a literal translation from Kant. The sentence ended with a preposition but it stirred wild longings. With friendly envy I watched the couples on the screen suiting the action to those immortal words—performing the feats I could only dream of doing, like running up riggings, or spearing swordfish, or drinking two cups of coffee after midnight.



KING SIZE AND REGULAR

No more! The chilly word from Washington has blown away the rosy mist. Was it all an illusion? I ask myself: What for did I—I mean, for what did I change to a filter? For a jingle? For a promise of togetherness? For the reason that practically everyone in the office would proffer a filter cigaret when I bummed one?

No. I was arming myself against the possible ravages of lung cancer and all the other ills that might shorten my career. I pictured a four-score-and-seven-year ride on a filter cigaret, with social security and old age pension money to fill the gas tank and the larder. Now I'll just have to look elsewhere for longevity.

HAVING BURST THE BUBBLE, the least Washington can do is to suggest a replacement. I realize everyone is busy down there. Working on hydrogen bombs and atomic submarines and hit-and-missiles doesn't leave much time for planning a fruitful span for the average man. How come, then, they took time out to crack down on a little white tube? Can it possibly be related to our foreign policy? It must be. Everything is. Let's try a bit of do-it-yourself research.

Here's a lead: A Reuters dispatch from Moscow dated Feb. 19 reports that the Cultural Scientific Research Laboratory for the Soviet Tobacco Industry intends to place filter cigarets on the market. Let's analyze that.

Obviously the Russians have stolen our secret for making filter cigarets, and we must deal with this situation from a position of strength. The probabilities are that they are not sincere, so there's no point negotiating with them on this delicate subject. On the other hand, they may mean what they say—they did with two Sputniks)—so we'd better not take chances. To put it on the line, the Russians are for filters, so we must come out against them or lose face with our Allies. (Of course if the face is Dulles' that might not be such a bad idea.)

I'm clear about everything now, if still shaken. In the meantime I propose to follow the controversy carefully. If Congressmen begin introducing legislation to persecute the users of filter cigarets, and if magazine articles pop up entitled, "I Was Trapped by a Filter," we may have an issue that will rally the American people. Something's got to rally them.

—Winston Kent

Robeson concert Mar. 18 at Reed College, Portland

PAUL ROBESON'S first Northwest concert in years will be given on March 18 in Reed College's Botsford Auditorium, Portland, Ore., at 8 p.m., under the sponsorship of Focus. Tickets are on sale at the Reed College Bookstore and at the House of Sounds, 2628 N. Williams Ave., Portland. Capacity is 1,000 but there is a heavy demand for seats.